

THE EARLY INFLUENCE OF PHONOLOGY ON A PHONETIC CHANGE

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The conventional wisdom regarding the diachronic process whereby phonetic phenomena become phonologized appears to be the ‘error accumulation’ model, so called by Baker, Archangeli, and Mielke (2011). Under this model, biases in the phonetic context result in production or perception errors, which are misapprehended by listeners as target productions, and over time accumulate into new target productions. In this article, I explore the predictions of the hypocorrection model for one phonetic change (prevoiceless /ay/-raising) in detail. I argue that properties of the phonetic context underpredict and mischaracterize the contextual conditioning on this phonetic change. Rather, it appears that categorical, phonological conditioning is present from the very onset of this change.*

Keywords: phonologization, hypocorrection, phonetic change, Canadian raising, sociolinguistics

1. INTRODUCTION. As a general model of sound change, hypocorrection, proposed by Ohala (1981), appears to be a solution to a number of problems in phonology, phonetics, and sound change, including the actuation problem, the incrementation problem, the naturalness of sound change, and the naturalness of phonological processes. The ACTUATION PROBLEM, as originally formulated by Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968), poses the question of why a particular sound change occurred where it did and when it did. The INCREMENTATION PROBLEM, as formulated by Labov (2001), poses the question of how a language change can continue in the same direction over multiple generations. Blevins (2008:122) defines ‘natural sound patterns’ as ‘those grounded in physical properties of speech’. One explanation for the preponderance of ‘natural’ sound patterns in this sense would be that phonological markedness constraints are themselves grounded in ‘speakers’ shared knowledge of the factors that affect speech communication by impeding articulation, perception, or lexical access’ (Hayes & Steriade 2004:5). Of course, the EVOLUTIONARY PHONOLOGY explanation that Blevins (2004) expounds places the explanatory power for natural sound systems in the fact that some kinds of sound changes are more common than others due to their phonetic grounding, a point further elaborated by Garrett and Johnson (2013).

The canonical illustration of hypocorrection is /u/-fronting from Ohala 1981, which can be summarized as follows. When adjacent to a coronal, like /t/, a /u/ may be perceived as further front, perhaps as [ʊ]. This could be either due to physical coarticulation with the tongue body moving toward a fronter target for /u/ than usual, or due to the acoustic effect of a [t] closure on the formant structure of adjacent /u/, perceptually fronting it. This difference between physical coarticulation and acoustic warping is largely immaterial to the hypocorrection model, as long as the listener’s percept is different from the speaker’s intended production. Hypocorrection occurs when a listener fails to take into account the contextual effects of the speaker’s production and instead reconstructs the speaker’s intended production target as [ʊ]. Over the course of many

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interactions between speakers and listeners, with listeners hypocorrecting, a critical mass of speakers in a speech community may have an underlying distribution of /ʌ/ when adjacent to coronals and /u/ otherwise, at which point it might be said that the language has changed.

The way in which hypocorrection resolves the incrementation and naturalness problems is straightforward. The fundamental mechanism of hypocorrection rests in the physical world (the acoustic properties of the human vocal tract) and the finite precision of human motor planning. There is a natural and persistent pressure in this model to front a [u] target to a [ʌ] production. The incrementation problem (Why does sound change progress in the same direction over many generations?) is resolved, because the human articulatory and perceptual systems remain constant across the relevant time periods, ensuring a constant bias. An explanation of the naturalness of phonological processes can also be found in hypocorrection. In the case of /u/-fronting, the new distribution of [u] and [ʌ] could be described as a phonological rule, as in 1.

(1) $u \rightarrow [-\text{back}]/[\text{COR}]$

If it is assumed that most of the contents of phonological grammars are either the end products of sound changes or the further elaboration and modification of those end products (Blevins 2004, Bermúdez-Otero 2007) and that some sound changes are more likely to happen than others because of their articulatory and perceptual grounding (Garrett & Johnson 2013), then it would follow that most phonological processes would be natural, due to their historical origins. The actuation problem is not, however, resolved by the hypocorrection model, as was nicely demonstrated by Baker, Archangeli, and Mielke (2011). Rather than just asking ‘What actuated a sound change?’, the actuation problem really asks ‘Why did this change occur now, in this dialect, and never before, and not in the neighboring dialects?’. Since the motivating factors under hypocorrection are natural and persistent, thus present in all dialects at all times, no good answer to the actuation problem is immediately available. The point that hypocorrection, on its own, cannot account for the actuation of sound changes was made in Ohala & Ohala 1991. However, Yu (2013a) has found interlistener differences with respect to how much they hypocorrect, and he suggests that these differences in ‘cognitive style’ may covary with speakers’ embedding in social networks. If the hypocorrectors in the speech community are properly placed, socially, then the hypocorrection change may spread throughout that speech community. Baker, Archangeli, and Mielke (2011) suggest that this alignment of the phonetic motivation of a sound change with social dimensions that make its propagation possible might be a relatively rare occurrence. These two lines of inquiry may go some way toward resolving the question of why all phonetically motivated sound changes do not inevitably happen in all languages.

The hypocorrection model is supported by many reasonable assumptions. Experimental work has shown that listeners do hypocorrect, and the way that they do mirrors attested historical changes (Ohala 1990, Harrington et al. 2007, Yu 2013a, among others). In addition, the outcomes of various simulations of hypocorrection appear similar to the outcomes of attested language changes given similar inputs (Pierrehumbert 2001, Wedel 2007, Garrett & Johnson 2013, among others). One missing strain of evidence for the hypocorrection model of language change is data from actual language change in progress, but this will soon be changing. Variationist sociolinguistics, historically the subfield devoted to the study of language change in progress, is increasing the volume, quality, and time depth of data available to researchers to address questions such as these. Corpora such as the Buckeye Corpus (Pitt et al. 2007), the Origins of New

Zealand English (ONZE) corpus (Gordon et al. 2007), and the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus (Labov & Rosenfelder 2011) are such examples.

In this article, I investigate the role that hypocorrection plays in a conditioned sound change in the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus: the raising of /ay/ before voiceless consonants. The logic of this investigation attempts to evaluate the prediction of the hypocorrection model that phonetic changes are necessarily circumscribed by other phonetic properties of speech. In the hypothetical example of /ut/-fronting, the phonetic precursor to /u/-fronting was the fronting of the [u] percept, due either to physical coarticulation or acoustic warping from adjacent coronals on the [u] formant structure. Before /u/ fully fronted to [ʉ], this precursor should have been detectable in the speech community.

Importantly, the hypocorrection model predicts that the rate of a hypocorrective change should be proportional to the size of the phonetic precursor. I define the precursor 'size' in terms of the difference between a speaker's intended phonetic production and a listener's percept. In practical terms of this illustration with /u/, that will be the effect a following [t] has on F2, agnostic about whether that effect is due to a fronter [u] articulation or the acoustic effect an alveolar closure has on the formant structure. To illustrate how precursor size ought to influence the rate of change, suppose that /u/ appeared in two different coronal contexts in the language, before alveolar [t] and before retroflex [ʈ]. By virtue of its more posterior place of articulation, [ʈ] would probably exert a weaker coarticulatory/perceptual pressure to front than [t]. As such, when listeners hypocorrect and incorporate error into their own representations of /u/, those errors would be less for /ut/ (say, [ʉt]) than for /uʈ/ (say, [ʉʈ]). To put illustrative numbers on it, the effect of a following [t] would be a +0.5 fronting bias on [u] and that of a following [ʈ] would be a +0.3 fronting bias. Over time and multiple interactions, this would have two results:

- A slower rate of /ʉt/ fronting (+0.3 per time step) than /ut/ fronting (+0.5 per time step).
- A less fronted realization for /ʉt/ than /ut/.

Both of the following would be unexpected under the straightforward hypocorrection account, and it would require further elaboration to account for them:

- An identical rate of fronting for both /ʉt/ and /ut/.
- Fronting of /ʉt/, but not /ut/.

In addition, if there were a (morpho)phonological process that turned /t/ into /k/ in some contexts, the coarticulatory/perceptual effect of /u/-fronting would be expected to be nonexistent before /k/. If speakers were to hypocorrect, they would update their representation with the error [ʉt], but there would be no such error in the context of [uk]. Again, to put illustrative numbers on it, the fronting bias for a following [t] would again be +0.5, but for a following [k] it would be 0. The result would be:

- /ut/ would front at the rate of +0.5 per time step, and /uk/ would not front at all.

If /uk/ were observed to be participating in the fronting change to a similar degree as /ut/, then that would be evidence that something a bit more elaborated than hypocorrection is at work. Lexical analogy or paradigm uniformity might be appealed to in order to explain /uk/-fronting, two factors well outside of strict phonetic conditioning.

Figure 1 illustrates how the differential fronting biases of [t], [ʈ], and [k] would accumulate over time, resulting both in different rates of change for /u/ in these contexts and in differently fronted realizations of /u/ at the end point.

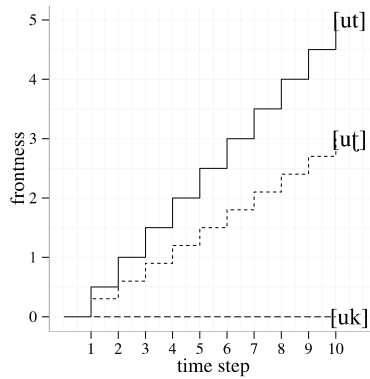


FIGURE 1. Hypothetical rates of /u/-fronting under different phonetic bias conditions.

These rate-of-change effects are predicted by the error-accumulation model of hypocorrection, as Baker, Archangeli, and Mielke (2011) called it, or the production-perception feedback loop model, as Wedel (2006) called it. As pointed out by a referee, however, there may be ways in which hypocorrection influences phonetic change other than how modeled in these error-accumulation approaches. For example, it could be that contexts that exert maximal bias are more likely to actuate a sound change, or are more likely to do so earlier. This would result in a lag between when the most biasing context begins to change and when the least favoring context does. Alternatively, the change may begin in all possible contexts at the same time and progress at the same rates, but go on for longer in the most biasing context. These two scenarios still both predict different diachronic trends for our example vowel /u/, either through delayed actuation early in the change or through extended change later. The outcome at the end points is also the same: the most strongly biasing context has the most extremely fronted realization. For the remainder of the article, I implicitly couch my analysis against the predictions of the error-accumulation model, largely because of its intuitive appeal and popularity in the literature, and assume that different bias strengths ought to result in different rates of change. But if one of these other two hypocorrection models (actuation modulation and change extension) were assumed, it would not fundamentally change the interpretation of the results below.

The example I examine in this article is directly analogous to the illustrative examples just given. The data is drawn from the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus of Ling 560 studies. I look at the raising of /ay/ from a low nucleus to a mid nucleus before voiceless consonants in Philadelphia ('Canadian' raising), specifically at how this diachronic change interacts with /t/- and /d/-flapping. I establish that the phonetic precursors that have been suggested for /ay/-raising are either neutralized or strongly mitigated in the flapping context, but despite this fact, the degree to which /ay/ raises or remains low in these flapping contexts appears more or less identical to how it raises or remains low in 'faithful', nonflapping contexts at all time points throughout the change. It is the underlying phonological context that best predicts the degree of /ay/-raising, not the phonetic properties of that context.

This case study is an example of a phonetic change progressing at a rate that is disproportionate to the size of the phonetic precursors. This should be surprising under the hypocorrection model of phonetic change. I argue that the selection of contexts to undergo /ay/-raising is categorical and phonological. Before concluding, I examine one alternative explanation (lexical analogy) and show that insofar as it can be quantitatively operationalized, it does not account for the observed patterns.

2. METHODS.

2.1. DATA USED. Unless otherwise indicated, all vowel formant data in this article is drawn from the Philadelphia Neighborhood Corpus of Ling 560 studies (Labov & Rosenfelder 2011), henceforth the PNC. All word-frequency data is drawn from SUBTLEX_{US} (Brysbaert & New 2009).

The PNC consists of sociolinguistic interviews carried out throughout Philadelphia by graduate students as part of their coursework for Ling 560, Researching the Speech Community, at the University of Pennsylvania. The course has run from 1973 to 2012. Every year, two or three research groups choose a city block in Philadelphia and attempt to interview as many residents on that block as possible. At the time of writing, 397 of these interviews have been digitized, and approximately 232 hours have been transcribed and force-aligned using the FAVE suite (Rosenfelder et al. 2014).

In this article, I focus on the 326 white, Philadelphia-born speakers in the corpus (198 hours of transcribed speech). The earliest date of birth of a speaker in this subsample is 1889, and the most recent is 1998. Figure 2 displays the distribution of ages across each year of the study.

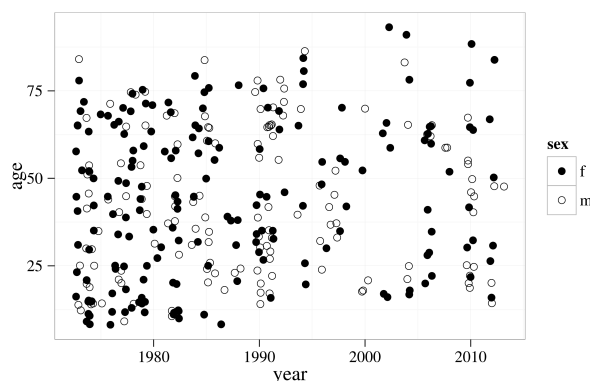


FIGURE 2. The year of interview and subject's age in the white, Philadelphia-born subset of the PNC. A slight jitter (uniform noise between $[-0.4, 0.4]$) has been added to the year of study.

Point estimates of F1 and F2 were automatically extracted from all vowels with primary lexical stress in this subsample using the Bayesian formant-tracking technique from the FAVE suite (see Labov et al. 2013 for a more complete description), resulting in 629,069 vowel formant estimates. While the FAVE suite estimates F1 and F2 at one-third of the vowel's duration for most vowel classes, they are estimated at F1 maximum for /ay/ and /ey/. Evanini (2009) found that when comparing this automated method of formant estimation to the manual measurements from the *Atlas of North American English* (Labov et al. 2006), there was a mean absolute difference of about 50 Hz on F1 and 90 Hz on F2 between the two. Within each speaker, F1 and F2 were converted to z-scores (i.e. Lobanov normalization). Adank, Smits, and van Hout (2004) found that z-score normalization was the most effective at eliminating physiological differences while preserving social differences, and Rathcke and Stuart-Smith (2014) found that it was most effective at mitigating artifacts caused by poor signal-to-noise ratios and more extreme spectral tilt sometimes found in archival recordings.

2.2. ANALYSIS PROCEDURE. All tokens of /ay/ were extracted from the speakers' full data sets, excluding proper names for the sake of speakers' anonymity. This resulted in 84,713 /ay/ measurements. Of particular interest here is the F1 of the /ay/ nucleus,

which will be taken as the indicator of vowel height, as well as other contextual information about the /ay/ token, including the voicing of the following segment, which is all included in the output of FAVE-extract.

Section 3 is devoted to establishing the broad facts of /ay/-raising so that the details of how it interacts with flapping can be properly understood. In the first instance, establishing that prevoiceless /ay/-raising is truly a language change in progress will involve the triangulation between descriptions of the Philadelphian dialect from the 1940s, 1970s, and 2000s, as well as the comparison of these descriptions to the data available in the PNC. I then carry out analyses of the distributional properties of /ay/ and fit both nonlinear and linear mixed-effects models in order to establish the dynamics of this change. The broad facts having been established, §4 investigates the phonetic conditioning of /ay/-raising, specifically when followed by flaps. After identifying tokens of /ay/ that unambiguously appear before ‘faithful’ /t/ and /d/, where the voicing distinction is not neutralized, and tokens that appear before flapped realizations of /t/ and /d/, I explore whether the previously proposed phonetic precursors for /ay/-raising are neutralized in the flapping contexts. The two precursors explored here are prevoiceless shortening, originally proposed as the phonetic precursor for Canadian raising by Joos (1942), and prevoiceless offglide peripheralization, proposed by Moreton (2004). After establishing that these precursors are either neutralized or minimized in flapping contexts, I turn to nonlinear Bayesian modeling to establish whether at any given point across the twentieth century, /ay/ preceding flaps patterned according to the phonetic properties of the flapping context or according to the underlying phonological identity of the flap.

3. /ay/-RAISING: A PHONETIC CHANGE IN PROGRESS. As outlined in the introduction, the key contribution of this study is investigating the role of phonetic conditioning in a sound change in progress. It is therefore crucial that I first establish that prevoiceless /ay/-raising is, in fact, a change in progress and that it is progressing as a classic Neogrammarian sound change. There are alternate routes by which Philadelphia could have arrived at an /ay/-raising system that would defeat the effectiveness of using it as an example of a conditioned sound change. For instance, prevoiceless /ay/-raising could be historical residue of the Great Vowel Shift, whereby /ay/ used to be uniformly realized as [ai], but lowered to [ai] except before voiceless consonants. This is called the ‘failure to lower’ hypothesis by Moreton and Thomas (2007) and was appealed to in order to explain the distribution of /ay/ variants in Martha’s Vineyard by Labov (1963). If Philadelphia’s /ay/-raising system was due to a failure to lower prevoiceless /ay/, then the phonetic conditioning that gave rise to it is lost to history, and this investigation would no longer concern a true language change in progress. Alternatively, prevoiceless /ay/-raising could have entered Philadelphia via dialect contact with a region with a fully developed /ay/-raising system. Again, if this were the case, then Philadelphians’ (non)conformity to the predictions of purely phonetic conditioning would be uninformative, since the relevant historical facts would have to be investigated in the originating dialect Philadelphia had contact with. Finally, even if prevoiceless /ay/-raising is a change in progress captured within the PNC data and is truly endogenous to Philadelphia, it might not be a classic Neogrammarian sound change, progressing via gradual phonetic adjustments of the vowel nucleus. Instead, it could progress via the competition of categorical variants [ai] and [ai̯], with the frequency of [ai̯] gradually increasing over time. This final possibility might not rule out /ay/-raising’s utility for exploring phonetic conditioning of sound change in progress, but our analysis methods would need to be adjusted to take categorical variation into account.

This section is devoted to the exploration of these issues, so that it can be assured that the detailed analysis of /ay/-raising in flapping contexts sits on a solid foundation. I begin by combining a review of the earliest description of the Philadelphia dialect, more contemporary sociolinguistic research on Philadelphia, and the data available in the PNC. This is followed by more detailed quantitative analysis of the distributional properties of /ay/, concluding with a broad characterization of the dynamics of the change. Fortunately, none of the hypothetical scenarios that would limit /ay/-raising's illustrativeness are supported by the available evidence.

3.1. A CHANGE IN PROGRESS. In his 1944 description of the Philadelphian dialect, Tucker said:

Both the [ar]-type diphthong and the [au]-type diphthong exist in only one quality, whereas in most American dialects the first element is shortened and modified in quality before a voiceless consonant—the precise sounds vary according to locality. (In my own speech, for example, this short sound, as in *night* or *out*, seems to be identical with the vowel of *but*; contrast with [a] in *ride*, *loud*.) No such distinction is made in the Philadelphia dialect.

It is not clear on which speakers (and importantly, of what generation) Tucker based this statement, but he is very explicit on this point that Philadelphians did not exhibit any raising of prevoiceless /ay/. His other descriptions of vocalic variation in the same article are similarly explicit and concordant with available data, so there is no reason to doubt that his description is accurate in this case.

By the 1970s, the Linguistic Change and Variation project at the University of Pennsylvania found that prevoiceless /ay/-raising was a vigorous change in progress, led by men (Labov 2001). Subsequent sociolinguistic research on prevoiceless /ay/ has found that its raising trend has slowed, and that now backer phonetic realizations are associated with masculinity and toughness (Conn 2005, Wagner 2007).

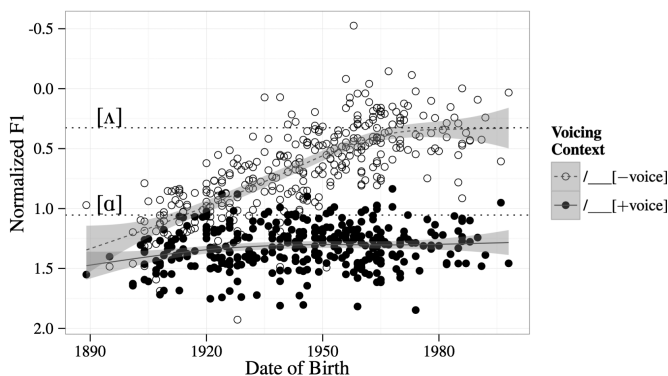


FIGURE 3. Raising of prevoiceless /ay/. There are two points for each speaker, representing their mean normalized F1 of /ay/ in the two contexts. The smoothing lines are penalized cubic regression splines. Horizontal dotted lines representing average normalized F1 for [a] and [A] are included for scale.

Setting aside the effect of sex, which for this particular sound change is mitigated in the PNC, the diachronic pattern as described beginning in the 1940s, through to the 1970s and late 2000s, is corroborated by the PNC data. Figure 3 plots mean normalized F1 of prevoiced and prevoiceless /ay/ for each speaker against their date of birth.¹

¹ Here and throughout, when mean formant values for a speaker are plotted in a figure, they were calculated by first taking the mean formant value for each word for each speaker, and then calculating the mean category

While Tucker does not specify any demographic information about the speakers he based his description on, the data in Fig. 3 is broadly compatible with his description. The difference between *write* and *ride* does not seem to be robustly present until approximately 1920. Speakers born in 1920 would have been twenty-four at the time Tucker published his notes on the Philadelphia dialect, and if the speakers he based his descriptions on were older than that, on average, they would have been born even earlier and would have made even less of a distinction than that. Since that time, prevoicelless /ay/ has changed to an incredible degree. In Fig. 3, horizontal lines representing the average normalized F1 of /a/ and /ʌ/ (neither of which exhibits any notable diachronic trend of its own) have been superimposed on the diachronic trends for these /ay/ allophones. For speakers born before the turn of the twentieth century, both allophones had a nucleus slightly lower than /a/, but for speakers born around 1970, the nucleus of prevoicelless /ay/ has risen to be the same height as /ʌ/, while elsewhere it has remained at approximately the same lowness for the full century.

3.2. AN ENDOGENOUS CHANGE. The operating assumption of sociophoneticians when looking at a trend like that in Fig. 3 is that it represents a phonetically gradual change. That is, speakers born in 1900 produced their prevoicelless /ay/ something like [aɪ], speakers born in 1970 produced their prevoicelless /ay/ something like [ʌɪ], and speakers born in between produced them in some phonetically intermediate way. As mentioned above, however, there are other ways this change could have occurred, perhaps via dialect contact. For example, there may have been a poorly documented inflow of speakers from Canada (Joos 1942, Chambers 1973) or the Northern United States (Dailey-O'Cain 1997, Vance 1987) into Philadelphia who brought with them a fully developed pattern of Canadian raising. The trend in Fig. 3 would then be due to population replacement, rather than any linguistic change. If not due to population transfer itself, dialect contact and diffusion (Labov 2007) could still be the culprit. Perhaps a raised [ʌɪ] variant entered Philadelphians' repertoire and gradually spread either through the lexicon, or through increasing frequency of use. Categorical variation in vowel quality is certainly possible. For example, Smith, Durham, and Fortune (2007) found that categorical variation between [ʌɪ] and [u:] in words like *down* is linked to style shifting in child-caregiver interactions in North-Eastern Scotland. However, insofar as it can be determined from the PNC data, the default sociophonetic interpretation of gradual phonetic change best characterizes the data.

To begin with, there do not appear to be two different populations represented in Fig. 3. There is no sudden appearance of fully raised [ʌɪ] speakers, nor a gradual disappearance of [aɪ] speakers. In order to visualize this fact more clearly, I calculated the Cohen's *d* estimate of the voicing effect size for every speaker. Cohen's *d* is an estimate of the difference between two distributions, standardized by the variance of the data. Two distributions with a very narrow range of variation within them will have a larger Cohen's *d* than two other distributions with the same difference in means but a broader variance. Since the largest possible difference between the means of two distributions is infinite, the largest possible value of Cohen's *d* is also ∞ . In this case, the difference between two means was always calculated by subtracting the mean normalized F1 for prevoicelless /ay/ from that of prevoiced /ay/. For speakers with a lower prevoicelless /ay/ than pre-

value on the basis of these by-word means. This is an attempt to reduce any undue effect of highly frequent words, like *like* and *right*, on the estimation of the mean. Using this method, highly frequent words only get to contribute once to the estimation of speakers' means, as do low-frequency words.

voiced /ay/, this will result in a negative Cohen's d . This difference between the means was then divided by the pooled standard deviation.

If a population with a mature and strong Canadian-raising grammar moved into Philadelphia and replaced the nonraising speakers, a pattern of two horizontal stripes in the Cohen's d estimates would be expected. The top stripe would represent the incoming speakers, for whom following voicing has a strong effect on vowel quality, and the bottom stripe would represent the speakers being replaced, for whom following voicing does not have a strong effect. Gradually, the bottom stripe would fade out, and the top stripe would fade in. This hypothetical situation is clearly not the case looking at Figure 4, which plots every speaker's Cohen's d estimate against their date of birth. Rather than two horizontal stripes representing two different populations of speakers, the pattern instead appears to show one population of speakers that is gradually shifting from showing a small effect of following voicing on vowel quality to showing a very large effect.

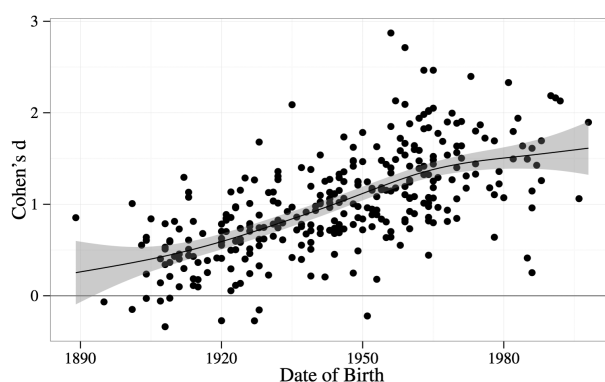


FIGURE 4. The effect of following voicing (Cohen's d), calculated for every speaker. The smoothing lines are penalized cubic regression splines.

Furthermore, as discussed in Fruehwald 2013, most northern dialects from which Philadelphia may have borrowed /ay/-raising usually exhibit raising before /r/ as well (Vance 1987, Dailey-O'Cain 1997). Philadelphia, by contrast, exhibits raising only before voiceless consonants. Following /r/ does not condition the change at all, making it even more unlikely that the origin of /ay/-raising in Philadelphia is due to dialect contact.

3.3. A PHONETIC CHANGE. Neither a plot of speakers' means nor the plot of Cohen's d would be able to distinguish between continuous and categorical variation within speakers. If speakers born around 1940 produced [aɪ] 50% of the time, or for 50% of their words, and [ʌɪ] the other 50%, their points in Fig. 3 and Fig. 4 would look approximately the same as if they produced something phonetically intermediate between [aɪ] and [ʌɪ] 100% of the time. One way to try to distinguish between categorical and continuous variation is to look at the distributional properties of speakers' data. If, unbeknownst to the researcher, a speaker's prevoiced /ay/ productions were drawn from two distributions, one [aɪ] and the other [ʌɪ], the standard deviation of this mixed distribution would be greater than the standard deviation of the two distributions in isolation, and the kurtosis would be less. The kurtosis of a distribution can be thought of as how sharply peaked a distribution is, how thick its tails are, or, as Darlington (1970) argued, how unimodal it is.

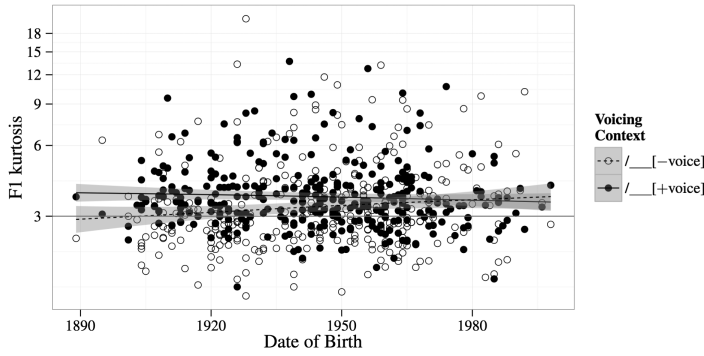


FIGURE 5. Estimated kurtosis of individual speakers' prevoiceless /ay/-distributions along F1. The smoothing lines are penalized cubic regression splines. The horizontal gray line at $y = 3$ represents the kurtosis of a normal distribution. The y-scale is logarithmic.

Figure 5 plots the kurtosis of every speaker's prevoiceless and prevoiced /ay/-distributions against their date of birth. A smaller kurtosis corresponds to a flatter or more bimodal distribution. All normal distributions have the same kurtosis ($= 3$), so a horizontal line at $y = 3$ has been drawn for reference. If the diachronic trend of prevoiceless /ay/-raising was due to the categorical replacement of an $[\alpha]$ distribution with an $[\Lambda]$ distribution, then a dip in kurtosis, reaching its minimum at the change's midpoint where the two distributions would be most evenly mixed, would be expected. From the change's midpoint to its endpoint, kurtosis would begin to increase, reaching its maximum when speakers begin drawing exclusively from an $[\Lambda]$ distribution. It should also look markedly different from the kurtosis of prevoiced /ay/, which did not undergo any considerable change across this time period. This hypothetical kurtosis profile is not observed for prevoiceless /ay/-raising. Instead, the trend in kurtosis across the twentieth century appears to be more or less flat, with a median value of 3.06, suggesting that speakers are not using a mixture of two categorical pronunciations.

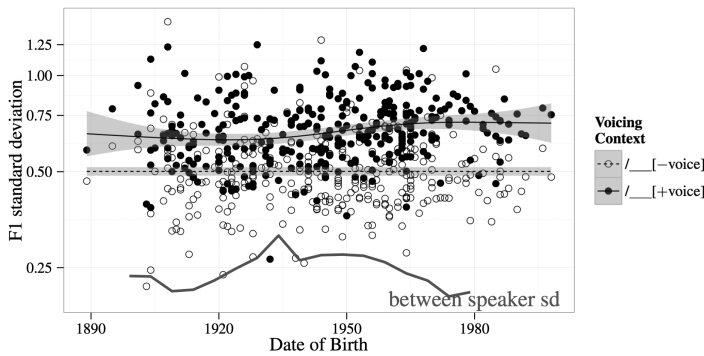


FIGURE 6. Comparison of within-speaker variation (one point per speaker) to between-speaker variation (gray line). The smoothing lines are penalized cubic regression splines. Between-speaker standard deviation calculated based on a moving twenty-year date-of-birth window at five-year increments. The y-scale is logarithmic.

Turning now to the standard deviation of a speaker's prevoiceless /ay/-distribution, it would exhibit the opposite profile relative to the change from the kurtosis if speakers were drawing from two distinct distributions. The mixture of two normal distributions

will always have a standard deviation greater than the standard deviation of either of the contributing distributions. As such, speakers at the midpoint of the change, where the mixture of [aɪ] and [ʌɪ] would be most even, would have a greater standard deviation than the beginning or end of the change, where speakers would only be drawing from one or the other distribution. Looking at Figure 6, it appears as if, again, this hypothetical profile of a categorical shift from [aɪ] to [ʌɪ] is not operating. The average standard deviation of prevoicelless /ay/ appears to be lower than that of prevoiced /ay/, probably because it appears in a more restricted set of phonetic environments. This is the opposite of what would be expected if prevoicelless /ay/-raising was a result of mixing [aɪ] and [ʌɪ] pronunciations. Included in Fig. 6 is a rolling estimate of the interspeaker standard deviation of speakers' means, based on a window of twenty years, calculated over five-year increments. This provides some idea of how closely speakers from any given date-of-birth cohort are clustered together. At any point in time, the degree of between-speaker variation is always less than the degree of within-speaker variation. This information is less relevant to the nature of individuals' behavior, but goes to show that this change was not characterized by factions of undergoers and nonundergoers, but rather by relatively strong cohesion within birth cohorts across the entire speech community.

3.4. DYNAMICS OF THE CHANGE. This section concludes with a broad analysis of the dynamics of this change and with the carrying out of some standard analyses for any sound change in progress. To begin with, I attempt to justify relying exclusively on date of birth to characterize the time dimension of this change. There is also always some concern when relying exclusively on apparent time (Sankoff 2006) (in this case, speakers' date of birth) that some nontrivial degree of lifespan change is being overlooked. Treating speakers as speech time capsules of the era in which they were born is, of course, a strong idealization, and a number of panel and case studies have found that speakers can, in fact, change their speech well past the critical period (Harrington et al. 2000, Sankoff & Blondeau 2007). While the PNC does have an important real-time component to it, it is difficult to disentangle the relationship between age and date of birth in its data. By the simple fact that its data was collected between 1973 and 2012, it is impossible for it to contain data from twenty-year-olds born in 1890 or eighty-year-olds born in 1993. Labov, Rosenfelder, and Fruehwald (2013) argue that date of birth provided the best explanatory power for the data when compared to age or year of study. In an attempt to improve on that argument here, I fit a generalized additive model, estimating speakers' F1 based on a two-dimensional tensor product between age and date of birth using the *mgcv* package in R (Wood 2011, 2014). This allows us to estimate a nonlinear effect of age and date of birth, and their interaction, on prevoicelless /ay/. Figure 7 plots the estimated lifespan trend for a number of date-of-birth cohorts. The prediction lines are clipped to the range of what would have been observable within the PNC. While the estimated lifespan trend for speakers born in, say, 1953, is not perfectly flat, it is still not so extremely different from flat that a gross error will be committed by just taking into account speakers' date of birth when modeling the change in prevoicelless /ay/.

To conclude, I fit a standard mixed-effects model including speakers' date of birth, following voicing, and word frequency. Word-frequency norms were drawn from SUBTLEX_{US}, which contains word counts compiled from the subtitles of US films and television shows. Brysbaert and New (2009) found that these word-frequency norms better accounted for participants' behaviors in lexical-decision tasks than frequency norms from other sources, meaning they have good psychological validity. Specifically, the \log_2 transform of the expected word frequency per one million words will be used, cen-

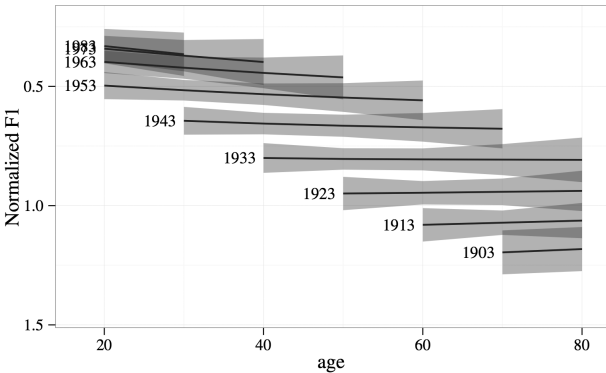


FIGURE 7. Predicted F1 of prevoiceless /ay/ for different date-of-birth cohorts at different ages. $\text{gam}(\text{NormalizedF1} \sim \text{ti}(\text{age}) + \text{ti}(\text{dob}) + \text{ti}(\text{age}, \text{dob}))$.

tered around the median. The full model tried to predict normalized F1 by the three-way interaction of date of birth (centered at 1950 and divided by 10, providing the rate of change per decade), \log_2 of word frequency, and voicing context (voiced versus voiceless), including random intercepts for speakers and words, with a random slope of date of birth by word, and of voicing context by speaker.² The model was fit using the lme4 package, version 1.1-7, in R (Bates et al. 2014), and 95% confidence intervals for the fixed effects were estimated via semiparametric bootstrap replication, using the bootMer function. The fixed-effects estimates, 95% confidence intervals, and density distribution plots of the bootstrap replications are displayed in Table 1.

PARAMETER	ESTIMATE	95% CI	BOOTSTRAP
Intercept*	1.442	[1.404, 1.48]	
Decade	−0.005	[−0.017, 0.007]	
Doubling frequency*	−0.013	[−0.022, −0.003]	
Decade × Frequency	$−4 \times 10^{-4}$	[−0.002, 0.002]	
[−voice]*	−0.753	[−0.829, −0.679]	
Decade × [−voice]*	−0.106	[−0.129, −0.083]	
Doubling frequency × [−voice]	3×10^{-4}	[−0.018, 0.019]	
Decade × Doubling frequency × [−voice]	1×10^{-4}	[−0.004, 0.004]	

TABLE 1. Parameter estimates and derived values from the mixed-effects model $\text{NormalizedF1} \sim \text{Decade} \times \text{following voicing} \times \log_2\text{Freq} + (\text{Decade}|\text{Word}) + (\text{following voicing}|\text{Speaker})$. Decade is the speakers’ date of birth, centered at 1950 and divided by 10. $\log_2\text{freq}$ is $\log_2(\text{frequency}) - \text{median}(\log_2(\text{frequency}))$, based on frequencies from SUBTLEX_{US}. The 95% confidence intervals (CIs) are based on 5,000 semiparametric bootstrap replicates fitted by bootMer from lme4 v1.1-7. The density distributions of the bootstraps are provided in the final column.

The fixed-effects estimates indicate that there is a main effect of frequency on the F1 of /ay/, but that this effect is not different across the voicing contexts. The effect labeled

² A model with maximal random effects (Barr et al. 2013) would include random slopes for the interaction and main effects of frequency by speaker: $(\text{following_voicing} \times \log_2\text{freq}|\text{Speaker})$. This model proved computationally intractable to fit. The omission of these random slopes may have an anticonservative effect on the estimation of the main effect of frequency and its interaction with voicing context (Johnson 2009). That is, the true size of these effects may be smaller than the model has estimated. Since the interaction of frequency with the voicing context and date of birth is already a null result, the successful inclusion of these random slopes would not likely alter the outcome qualitatively.

'Doubling frequency' corresponds to the effect of doubling frequency on prevoiced /ay/, and it appears to be reliably different from zero based on the bootstrap confidence intervals. However, the interaction of 'Doubling frequency \times [-voice]' is not reliably different from zero, meaning the frequency effect is more or less the same between prevoiced and prevoiceless /ay/. The raising effect of doubling frequency is approximately equal to one year in date of birth for prevoiceless /ay/.³ The fact that word frequency affects both prevoiced and prevoiceless /ay/ makes sense if it is taken into account that more frequent words are more likely to undergo phonetic reduction, which in the case of these low vowel nuclei would mean lowering F1. However, word frequency does not appear to reliably interact with the rate of prevoiceless /ay/-raising. The estimated effect size of the three-way interaction 'Decade \times Frequency \times [-voice]' is exceptionally small and not reliably different from zero. These results are very similar to what Zellou and Tamminga (2014) found in the PNC for vowel-nasal coarticulation. More frequent words experienced more reduction/coarticulation, but frequency did not interact with changes in nasal coarticulation. This constitutes a 'stationary' effect of word frequency (cf. Hay et al. 2015).

If frequency is entered into the model in a stepwise fashion, and models are compared using likelihood ratio tests, the Akaike information criterion (AIC) and the Bayesian information criterion (BIC), the only improvement to the model is made when it is entered as a main effect, without any interactions (Table 2). It can be tentatively concluded, then, that the effect of word frequency on the change (i.e. its interaction with date of birth) is marginal at best, and perhaps even nonexistent.

	df	AIC	BIC	logLik	DEVIANCE	χ^2	χ^2 df	p
no freq	11	164234.1	164336.8	-82106.03	164212.1			
+freq	12	164226.2	164338.3	-82101.10	164202.2	9.848	1	0.002
voicing \times freq	13	164228.2	164349.7	-82101.10	164202.2	0.000	1	0.999
decade \times voicing \times freq	15	164228.2	164372.2	-82101.02	164202.0	0.167	2	0.920

TABLE 2. Comparisons of models that differ in terms of how word frequency was included.

Table 3 displays the random effects' standard deviations and correlations from the full model summarized in Table 1. Examining the standard deviation of [-voice] by speaker and the residual standard deviation, it can be seen that these values are broadly similar to the estimates of the within- and between-speaker standard deviations from Fig. 6. These are sensible interpretations of these random effects' standard deviations, and the fact they are so similar to the maximum likelihood estimates from Fig. 6 is a sign that the model was sensibly fit.

GROUP	NAME	SD	CORR
Word	(intercept)	0.24	
	Decade	0.03	0.49
Speaker	(intercept)	0.12	
	[-voice]	0.2	-0.58
Residual		0.63	

TABLE 3. Random effects' standard deviations and correlations from the model described in Table 1.

3.5. PRELIMINARY CONCLUSIONS ABOUT PREVOICELESS /ay/-RAISING. On the basis of historical descriptions of the dialect and careful analysis of the data available in the PNC, a few conclusions can be drawn about the nature of prevoiceless /ay/-raising with

³ I compared the effect of doubling frequency to the rate of change of prevoiceless /ay/, which is approximately equal to the effect labeled 'Decade \times [-voice]' = -0.106. A word with double the frequency of another word will have a normalized F1 approximately -0.013 lower, which is about one-tenth the effect of a decade in date of birth, or more simply one year.

some certainty. First, it is an innovation that occurred in Philadelphia within the twentieth century. Triangulating between Tucker's 1944 description and the available PNC data, it is not likely that Philadelphians born before 1900 made a distinction in vowel quality between *ride* and *right*. The nature of the innovation also seems clear. After calculating the Cohen's *d* effect of voicing on /ay/, it does not appear to be the case that speakers with [ΔI] for prevoiceless /ay/ moved into Philadelphia and replaced the non-raising population, nor does it appear that the speech community was ever divided into a group of speakers who had raising and those who did not. Looking at the distributional properties of /ay/ (kurtosis and standard deviation), it does not appear that a raised [ΔI] was borrowed into the speech community as a new pronunciation variant, nor that there was a period where categorical variation between [aI] and [ΔI], whether lexically conditioned or otherwise, was the norm. Rather, it looks as if the standard sociophonetic assumption is borne out, summarized in 2.

- (2) Prevoiceless /ay/ changed by a gradual shift in the center of its distribution that propagated in a continuous fashion across generational cohorts.

4. /ay/-RAISING AND /t, d/-FLAPPING. Of course, 'Canadian' raising is of great interest to phonologists for its opaque interaction with American /t/- and /d/-flapping (Joos 1942, Mielke et al. 2003, Idsardi 2006, Pater 2014). Even when the voicing contrast is neutralized (or minimized), /ay/-raising still occurs, so that the distinction between *rider* [aI] and *writer* [ΔI] is maintained in the vowel quality of the preceding /ay/. In contemporary Philadelphia, /ay/-raising does occur before flapped /t/ (this is demonstrated below) and does not occur before flapped /d/ as a general rule, but there are some lexically conditioned exceptions (Fruehwald 2008). This lexical-diffusion pattern appears to be a separate phenomenon overlaid on top of the general raising pattern (Fruehwald 2013) and is not addressed here.

Given that /ay/-raising in Philadelphia appears to be a phonetically gradual innovation and that it currently interacts opaquely with flapping, the question arises as to whether /ay/-raising before /t/-flaps is phonetically unexpected at all. Perhaps the phonetic properties of the pre-/t/-flap context are such that raising can be expected there. Three steps are necessary to examine this question. First, tokens of /ay/ that are almost certainly preceding flaps and faithful /t/ and /d/ need to be identified. Second, the most probable phonetic precursors for /ay/-raising need to be identified. Third, it needs to be determined in which contexts ([faithful, flapped] × [/t/, /d/]) these precursors were present, and at what strength.

4.1. IDENTIFYING FAITHFUL AND FLAPPED /t, d/. For the first step, /ay/ tokens that were most probably preceding faithful and flapped /t/ and /d/ were identified in the PNC. This was done by identifying phonological contexts where /t/ and /d/ are expected to be flaps or stops. Search criteria were defined based on the phone-level alignment of the transcription. The search definition for /ay/ preceding faithful /t/ and /d/ is given in 3, and that for /ay/ preceding flapped /t/ and /d/ is given in 4.

- (3) Faithful (stop realizations):
- /ay/ is followed by /t/ or /d/.
 - The /t/ or /d/ is followed by a word boundary.
 - The /t/ or /d/ is followed by a pause.
- (4) Flap:
- /ay/ is followed by /t/ or /d/.
 - The /t/ or /d/ is not followed by a word boundary.
 - The /t/ or /d/ is followed by an unstressed vowel.

Restricting the definition of faithful /t/ and /d/ to be word-final and followed by a pause ensures that no tokens of phrase-level flaps will be included. Occasionally, the aligner will mislabel a long final closure as a pause, but for these purposes that is a beneficial error, because if the closure was long enough to be mislabeled a pause, it was certainly not a flap. The search definition for flaps may be too restrictive, excluding some flapping of /t/ and /d/ that occurs at the phrase level. However, it is better here to be too restrictive than permissive, especially when it can be afforded due to the volume of data available. The resulting numbers of tokens in each context are given in Table 4.

FOLLOWING SEGMENT	FAITHFUL	FLAP
/d/	626	208
/t/	2,392	336

TABLE 4. Number of tokens preceding flapped and faithful /t/ and /d/.

There may be some reasonable concern that this rule-based definition of flaps, which does not take into account any phonetic properties, may overapply and label tokens as flaps that are not, in fact, flaps. In order to address this concern, I examined all of the /t/-flap tokens and impressionistically coded them on the basis of the spectrogram. If there was a voicing bar and/or clear formants in the purported flap, it was coded as being a flap. Much like Warner and Tucker (2011) found, there were quite a few tokens of /t/-flaps that were realized as approximant-like (exhibiting a voicing bar and strong formant structure). However, there were too few (eighty-one) to analyze separately.

After all /t/-flap tokens were examined, forty-five were excluded from further analysis. For seventeen tokens, the audio was too unclear to accurately code whether the /t/ was flapped, and two were excluded because of errors in the transcription. The remaining twenty-six were excluded because they were actually glottalized tokens, mostly occurring before syllabic nasals. There were no examples of a stop realization in the remaining tokens. The revised numbers of tokens, after these exclusions, are given in Table 5.

FOLLOWING SEGMENT	FAITHFUL	FLAP
/d/	626	208
/t/	2,392	285

TABLE 5. Revised number of tokens preceding flapped and faithful /t/ and /d/.

Some errors may still persist in the coding of /t/ and /d/ as having stop realizations versus flap and approximant realizations. However, the specific realizations of /t/ and /d/ are of less importance here than the effects they have on the preceding /ay/. As is demonstrated in the next section, the contexts coded as ‘flap’ and the contexts coded as ‘faithful’ have, on aggregate, different effects on what would be the phonetic precursors for /ay/-raising. Even if these segments are entirely mischaracterized as ‘flaps’ and ‘stops’, they still serve as contexts with differential phonetic conditioning.

4.2. PHONETIC PRECURSORS. There are two main contenders to be the phonetic precursors of prevoiceless /ay/-raising. The first, proposed by Moreton and Thomas (2007), is that before voiceless consonants, the offglide of the diphthong is peripheralized. The process of /ay/-raising is thus a result of the diphthong nucleus assimilating to the peripheralized glide. The second, originally proposed by Joos (1942), is that prevoiceless shortening does not allow enough time for the full gesture from a low-back nucleus to a high front glide, so in reaction, the nucleus raises.

Additional phonetic information beyond point estimates of F1 and F2 is necessary to see how these precursors are distributed across contexts. Specifically, full formant

tracks are needed to see how the /ay/ glides are affected by flapping, and vowel durations are needed as well. Both of these kinds of data are available from FAVE-extract, but they are unfortunately not as high quality as the F1 and F2 point estimates. First of all, FAVE-extract optimizes LPC parameters to arrive at the most likely formant point estimates, but this does not necessarily produce a high-quality formant track. This is especially true for a vowel like /ay/, where the high F1 and low F2 at the nucleus would be best estimated with a larger number of poles than the low F1 and high F2 in the glide. The result is that further into the glide, F2 is often poorly tracked. As for vowel duration, the forced alignments from FAVE-align have not been hand-corrected. Alignment errors may be a problem, but Yuan and Liberman (2008) found that most errors based on the acoustic models FAVE-align uses are less than 50 ms. However, the aligner only has a precision of 10 ms. That is, a phone's duration can increase only by increments of 10 ms, and this may pose a problem for finer-grained analysis necessary to determine the phonetic precursors of /ay/-raising. It is possible, however, to triangulate between the qualitative generalities of the data from the PNC and results from the literature in order to arrive at the most likely phonetic situation at the beginning of the change.

OFFGLIDE PERIPHERALIZATION. Using a slightly modified version of FAVE-extract, I extracted F1 from the relevant tokens from 10% to 90% of the duration at 5% intervals. From these full formant tracks, 80% of the vowel's duration will be taken to be indicative of the glide target. 80% was selected to be as close as possible to the glide offset while simultaneously avoiding coarticulation with the following segment. Moreton (2004) and Moreton and Thomas (2007) used a more principled approach of selecting F2 maximum as the point of the glide measurement. In this data set, that approach was too fragile with respect to formant-tracking errors, frequently choosing points too early in the vowel as the glide offset. Figure 8 plots the height of /ay/ glides over speakers' dates of birth, comparing pre-/t/ and pre-/d/ /ay/ in both flapping and faithful contexts.

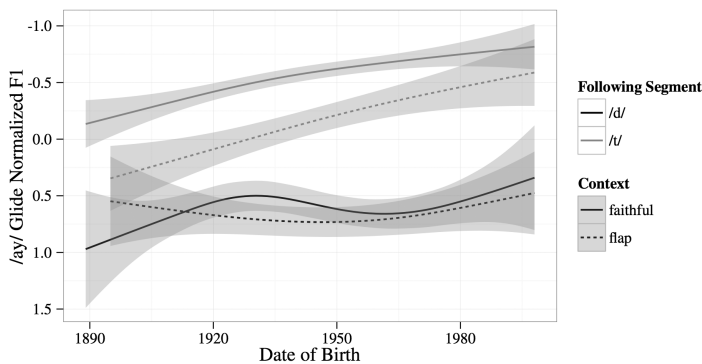


FIGURE 8. /ay/ glide height across the twentieth century. The smoothing lines are penalized cubic regression splines. Dark gray lines correspond to /d/, light gray lines to /t/. Solid lines correspond to faithful (nonflapping) realizations of /t, d/, dashed lines to flapped realizations.

Looking at the beginning of the twentieth century, there is a clear effect of offglide peripheralization for pre-faithful-/t/ only. The height of the /ay/ glide before both variants of /d/ and before flapped /t/ all appear to be roughly the same. There is a striking raising of the /ay/ glide before flapped /t/ across the twentieth century, but this could simply be the result of the raising of the /ay/ nucleus in this context. If the degree of undershoot to the glide remained constant across the twentieth century, the mere fact that

the nucleus rose would have the effect of also raising the glide. In order to factor out the confounding effect that raising the vowel nucleus will also have an effect of raising the glide, I calculated the average difference between maximum F1 and F1 at 80% of the vowel's duration for every speaker in these four contexts. This gives us a measure of the glide's relative peripheralization with respect to the nucleus. Figure 9 plots the diachronic trajectories for these differences.

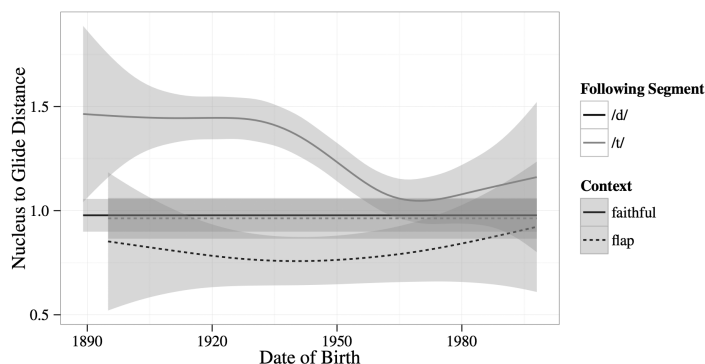


FIGURE 9. Distance from /ay/ nucleus (maximum F1) to glide (80% of vowel duration) across the twentieth century. The smoothing lines are penalized cubic regression splines. Dark gray lines correspond to /d/, light gray lines to /t/. Solid lines correspond to faithful (nonflapping) realizations of /t, d/, dashed lines to flapped realizations.

Briefly looking at the trends for /ay/ before faithful /t/ and /d/ alone, depicted by the solid lines in Fig. 9, it would look like the offglide peripheralization hypothesis is strongly confirmed. At the onset of the twentieth century, there is a large difference between the nucleus and glide for /ay/ before /t/, and a much smaller one before /d/. There is then a sharp, S-shaped curve whereby the distance between nucleus and glide is reduced for /ay/ before /t/, such that the glide's relative peripheralization comes closer in line with that of /ay/ before /d/. The relative peripheralization was reduced primarily by the raising of the /ay/ nucleus toward the glide rather than the other way around. However, the relative glide peripheralization for /ay/ before flapped /t/ is indistinguishable from the pre-/d/ context. That is, there does not appear to be any offglide peripheralization effect at all for /ay/ when preceding flaps, regardless of their underlying status. This is actually to be expected if the reason for offglide peripheralization is the 'spread of facilitation', as Moreton (2004) suggested. Moreton (2004:29) construes this spread of facilitation as being a low-level factor involving '[n]euromuscular coupling between temporally overlapping vowel and consonant articulations'. The relationship between any particular [r] and /t/ must be at the cognitive level, relatively far removed from neuromuscular planning, so it is not surprising that there would be no offglide peripheralization before flapped /t/.

These results are concordant with what Rosenfelder (2005) found in Victoria, British Columbia. While she was not similarly focused on the interaction of raising and flapping, she did report the nucleus and glide measurements for /ay/ preceding /t/-flaps separately. Figure 10 plots the means reported in her appendices. While the glide of /ay/ before /t/-flaps is a bit higher and fronter than the glide before voiced consonants, these glides are more similar to each other than to the glide preceding voiceless consonants. This is even more surprising if it is taken into account that the nuclei of pre-/t/-flap /ay/ and prevoiced /ay/ are extremely different.

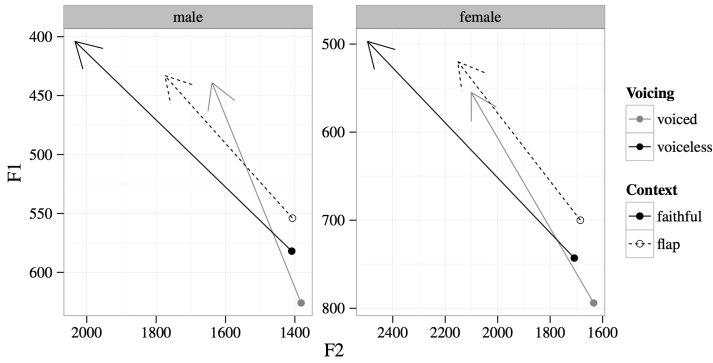


FIGURE 10. Nucleus and glide measurements of prevoiced, prevoiceless, and pre-/t/-flap /ay/ from Victoria, BC. Data from Rosenfelder 2005.

By contrast, Kwong and Stevens (1999) did find that /ay/ offglide peripheralization was not entirely neutralized before flapped /t/. For most of their speakers, the glide's F1 was lower and its F2 was higher before a /t/-flap than before a /d/-flap. However, they did not report formant estimates for /ay/ preceding faithful /t/ and /d/, making comparison to the data from the PNC and Rosenfelder 2005 difficult. The crux of the matter is not whether there is any offglide peripheralization before /t/-flaps, but rather whether there is enough to drive /ay/-raising before /t/-flaps on phonetic grounds.

Between the data available from the PNC and the data reported by Rosenfelder (2005), it appears as if prevoiceless glide peripheralization is largely neutralized before flaps. If the contexts in which /ay/-raising took place were defined on the basis of offglide peripheralization, it would be expected to be seen occurring only before faithful /t/.

PREVOICELESS SHORTENING. Figure 11 plots the diachronic trends for /ay/ durations from the PNC in the four contexts in question. Looking at the early part of the twentieth century, voicing effects on duration are not completely neutralized before flaps, but they are heavily mitigated toward the short end of the spectrum. Table 6 summarizes the mean duration in milliseconds from speakers born before 1920 for /ay/ preceding /t/ and /d/ in flapping and faithful contexts. When arranging contexts from shortest to longest, it looks like, when preceding a /d/-flap, the duration of /ay/ is more similar to that before a faithful /t/ than a faithful /d/.

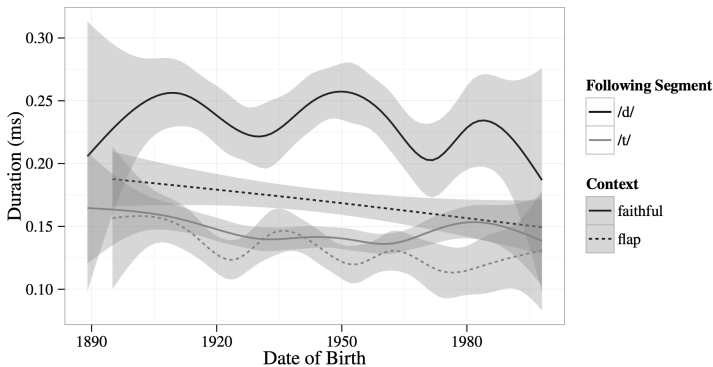


FIGURE 11. Diachronic trajectory for /ay/ duration across the twentieth century. The smoothing lines are penalized cubic regression splines. Dark gray lines correspond to /d/, light gray lines to /t/.

Solid lines correspond to faithful (nonflapping) realizations of /t, d/, dashed lines to flapped realizations.

FOLLOWING SEGMENT	CONTEXT	MEAN DURATION (ms)	DIFFERENCE FROM NEXT SHORTEST
/t/	flap	135	
/t/	faithful	146	11
/d/	flap	179	32
/d/	faithful	228	49

TABLE 6. Mean duration of /ay/ preceding both faithful and flapped /t/ and /d/.

Table 7 displays the same mean durations by following segment and context, emphasizing the duration differences between following /t/ and /d/ within contexts. The duration difference is more than two times greater in the faithful context than in the flapping context.

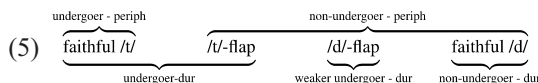
CONTEXT	/ay/ PRE-/d/	/ay/ PRE-/t/	DIFFERENCE
FAITHFUL	219	135	84
FLAP	161	124	36

TABLE 7. Duration differences between /t/ and /d/ in faithful and flapping contexts.

Braver (2014) recently found an even greater amount of duration neutralization than has been found in the PNC. Using lab speech (and, unfortunately for comparison's sake, not /ay/), Braver found that among his twelve subjects, the largest durational difference before /d/-flaps from /t/-flaps that any of them made was about 15 ms. He does not report any durations from nonflapped /t/ or /d/, but the vowel durations he reports for pre-/d/-flap vowels are, at most, 140 ms. So it appears that in Braver's data, the direction of incomplete neutralization is also toward the shorter end of the duration spectrum.

It is not immediately clear why the durational distributions in the PNC should be so different from those of Braver (2014). It may be due to dialectal differences between the PNC speakers and Braver's speakers, it may be an /ay/-specific effect, or it may have to do with the methodological and analytic differences between these studies. Regardless, what both sets of results find is that vowels in general, and /ay/ in particular, are shorter before /d/-flaps than before faithful /d/, perhaps nearly (but not statistically) identical to vowels before faithful /t/. This places the predicted participation of /ay/ before /d/-flaps in the raising change in an ambiguous position if it is driven by phonetic length. Before /d/-flaps, /ay/ would either participate to the same degree as before faithful /t/, or perhaps would participate a bit more weakly.

PHONETIC PRECURSORS SUMMARY. The two main contenders for phonetic precursors of /ay/-raising actually produce different predictions for how /ay/ should behave before flaps. If the precursor were offglide peripheralization, as suggested by Moreton and Thomas (2007), then on the basis of the PNC data and Rosenfelder 2005, only the context of following faithful /t/ would be expected to condition the change, since the glide does not appear to be peripheralized before flaps or before faithful /d/. If the precursor were phonetic duration, it would be unambiguously expected that /ay/ both before faithful /t/ and before /t/-flaps would undergo the change. Our expectations for /ay/ before /d/-flaps are a bit more ambiguous. On the basis of Braver's (2014) study, it would be expected for /ay/-raising to occur at more or less the same rate before /d/-flaps as before faithful /t/ and /t/-flaps. In the PNC data, /ay/ before /d/-flaps is a bit longer than /ay/ before faithful /t/, but still much shorter than /ay/ before faithful /d/. For the purposes of further investigation, /ay/ before /d/-flaps will be categorized as a 'weak undergoer' context under the duration precursor model. The categorization of contexts into 'undergoer' and 'nonundergoer' on the basis of these hypothesized precursors is summarized in 5.



It should be noted that placing contexts into ‘undergoer’ and ‘nonundergoer’ categories is not really consistent with the hypocorrection model of phonetic change. Rather, it would be expected that the rate of change across contexts would vary continuously in a way proportional to the strength of the phonetic precursor in those contexts. Based on the available precursor data from the PNC, bearing in mind the necessary caveats about its quality, a more specific, quantitative prediction can be made about how /ay/-raising ought to interact with flapping.

Taking offglide peripheralization first, the difference between F1 at 80% of the vowel’s duration and maximum F1 will be used as the quantitative measure of the peripheralization precursor. We know that /ay/-raising did occur before faithful /t/ and did not occur before faithful /d/. Taking the size of the precursor before faithful /t/ as being at 100% strength, and the size before faithful /d/ as being at 0% strength, it is possible to calculate the relative strength in the remaining contexts, which should be proportional to the degree of participation of /ay/-raising in these contexts. The estimated participation rates based on the peripheralization precursor are given in Table 8. If /ay/ were to raise before flapped /t/ and /d/, it would be expected to do so somewhere around 10% as much as /ay/ before faithful /t/. Taking the same logic and applying it to the duration precursor (Table 9), it appears that /ay/ before /t/-flaps ought to participate in the change at a higher rate than /ay/ before faithful /t/, and /ay/ before /d/-flaps ought to participate at about 60% the rate of /ay/ before faithful /t/.

FOLLOWING SEGMENT	CONTEXT	NUCLEUS TO GLIDE DISTANCE	PARTICIPATION
/t/	faithful	1.44	1.00
/t/	flap	0.91	0.10
/d/	flap	0.87	0.04
/d/	faithful	0.85	0.00

TABLE 8. Estimated participation rates of /ay/-raising on the basis of offglide peripheralization.

FOLLOWING SEGMENT	CONTEXT	MEAN DURATION (MS)	PARTICIPATION
/t/	faithful	135	1.13
/t/	flap	146	1.00
/d/	flap	179	0.60
/d/	faithful	228	0.00

TABLE 9. Estimated participation rates of /ay/-raising on the basis of phonetic duration.

Section 4.3 is devoted to describing the outcome of a nonlinear model of /ay/-raising, but the results in that section can be briefly prefigured by examining a plot of speaker means of /ay/ F1 across these contexts. In Figure 12 it can be seen that the pattern of raising before /t, d/-flaps looks very similar to the pattern before faithful /t, d/. That is, the observable pattern of raising looks neither like the coarse categorization laid out in §3, nor like the quantitative predictions in Table 8 and Table 9. Rather, it appears that /ay/-raising has always been conditioned by the underlying phonological status of the following segment, not the phonetic properties of the context.

4.3. NONLINEAR BAYESIAN MODELING. At this point, the qualitative impression from Fig. 12 requires quantitative support from statistical modeling. However, standard linear mixed-effects models will be insufficient to address the questions at hand. For example, it might be possible that /ay/ preceding flaps behaved as one of the two precursor hypotheses predicts at the beginning of the change, but then underwent reanalysis to be con-

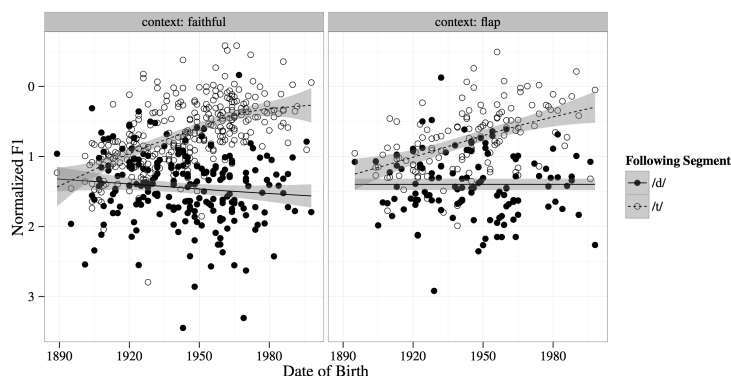


FIGURE 12. Speaker F1 means for /ay/ preceding different /t/ and /d/ realizations.

ditioned by underlying voicing at a later point. That is, the ‘initiation’ of the change may have been governed by phonetic factors, but the ‘propagation’ of the change by phonological factors (Janda & Joseph 2003, Ohala 2012). Simply fitting a linear model to the data would wash out any time-dependent effects like this, because it would attempt to describe the data with one slope and intercept for the entire time range, while the theoretical model suggests at least two different slopes, one before reanalysis and one after. A modeling approach that allows for a nonlinear relationship between the change and date of birth will be pursued. There are a number of nonlinear modeling methods to choose from, including smoothing-spline ANOVAs (Davidson 2006) and generalized additive models (Wieling et al. 2011). In this article, however, I use a Bayesian method based on Ghitza & Gelman 2014 for a number of reasons. First, the mathematical description of the model is simpler than many other nonlinear modeling techniques, even if the way the parameters are estimated is more complex. Second, random effects for speakers and words are more straightforwardly integrated into the model. Finally, it is easier to generate 95% Bayesian credible intervals for all parameters and generated quantities in the model than it is using other methods, and the credible intervals are more intuitively understandable. A full mathematical description of the model is given in the appendix. This description is probably longer than the descriptions of most statistical models in the literature, but that would not be the case if the full mathematical description of, say, a smoothing-spline ANOVA or a tensor product smooth had to be included in the full text.

The single-sentence description of the model is that it is a first-order autoregressive model over the rate of change. The model will produce nonlinear estimates for year-over-year changes, which are labeled as δ_j , where j is an index for the date of birth. If normalized F1 of /ay/ before faithful /t/ lowered by 0.01 between 1899 and 1900, then $\delta_{1900} = -0.01$. The δ_j of any given date of birth is constrained to be similar to δ_{j-1} , that is, the rate of change of the previous date of birth. Exactly how similar δ_j and δ_{j-1} ought to be is a parameter of the model itself, so the smoothness or wobbliness of the nonlinear aspect of the model is optimized on the basis of the data. The expected normalized F1 of /ay/ for a given year, which is labeled as μ_j , is calculated by summing up all of the year-over-year changes up to the year in question. The first observable date of birth is 1889, so the estimated F1 in 1892 (μ_{1892}) is equal to $\delta_{1889} + \delta_{1890} + \delta_{1891} + \delta_{1892}$. Separate δ_j and μ_j values were estimated for each of the four contexts ($[/t/, /d/] \times [faithful, flap]$), so that there would be no bias in the model for any of the differences between curves to shrink toward zero. Random intercepts of speaker, word, and street were also

included in the model. ‘Street’ here is a variable coding for each graduate student research group mentioned in §2.

The parameters of the statistical model described in the appendix were estimated using the No U-Turn Sampler (NUTS) (Hoffman & Gelman 2011) as implemented in Stan (Stan Development Team 2014). It is a form of Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC), which takes an iterative approach to estimating the probability of parameter values given the data (a.k.a. the posterior), which is proportional to the probability of the data given the parameters (the likelihood) times the probability of the parameters (the prior).⁴ The Bayesian analysis done here requires specifying some kind of prior expectation for what the values of the independent parameters are. These priors can vary in terms of the restrictiveness they impose on the estimation of the independent parameters, that is, their ‘informativeness’. Priors can range the full spectrum from noninformative (that is, they impose minimal restriction on the estimation of the independent parameters) to fully informative (that is, they impose stronger restriction on the estimation). Gelman and colleagues (2008) propose ‘weakly informative’ priors for logistic regression, for example. Their proposed priors take into account the fact that coefficients in logistic regressions tend to range between -5 and 5 , but allow for more extreme values when justified by the data. All of the priors for this model were either noninformative or weakly informative, meaning the parameter estimates reported below are driven most strongly by the data provided to the model, not by prior expectations about what those estimates would be.

To ensure that the sampler settled on a stable distribution, I fit four chains with 4,000 iterations. The first 2,000 iterations were discarded as a burn-in, and the Rubin-Gelman diagnostic (\hat{R}) was used to determine convergence. For all of the parameters reported here, the \hat{R} was sufficiently close to 1 (≤ 1.1) to consider them converged.

RESULTS. To begin with, Figure 13 plots the estimated scale parameters (σ) from the model as a sanity check. These values can be compared against the maximum likelihood estimates from Fig. 6 and the random-effects standard deviations from Table 3. The σ labeled ‘within speaker variation’ is estimated to be about 0.51. This is slightly smaller than the residual deviance from the mixed-effects model described in Table 3, but very similar to the average within-speaker standard deviation from Fig. 6. The estimated between-speakers standard deviation is 0.21, which is very similar to both the rolling estimate of the interspeaker standard deviation from Fig. 6 and the standard deviation of the by-speaker random effects from Table 3. Finally, the between-words standard deviation is estimated to be 0.14, which is actually a bit smaller than the standard deviation of the by-word random intercepts from Table 3, but this should perhaps not be too surprising since there are fewer word types and fewer phonological contexts represented in this model than in the full model. These scale parameters appear to be generally reasonable when compared to other similar estimates from the data, giving us some confidence that the model, as described in the appendix, was reasonably specified.

The first model parameter that varies across time is $\delta_{[j,k]}$, which can be understood as the year-over-year differences in F1, or the rate of change. Figure 14 plots the model estimates along with a ribbon indicating the 95% highest posterior density interval, which will serve as our credible interval for the remaining analysis of this model. The interpretation of these credible intervals is different from frequentist confidence intervals. They indicate that there is a 95% probability that the value of $\delta_{[j,k]}$ lies within the inter-

⁴ See Kruschke 2011 for an accessible introduction to MCMC and Bayesian modeling.

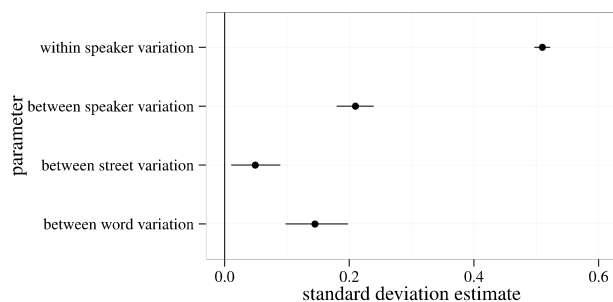


FIGURE 13. Estimated standard deviations from the Stan model. Intervals represent the range of the 95% highest posterior density interval.

val. Rather than a tabular representation of coefficient estimates and p -values, these graphical intervals should be understood as indicating the reliability of the effect.

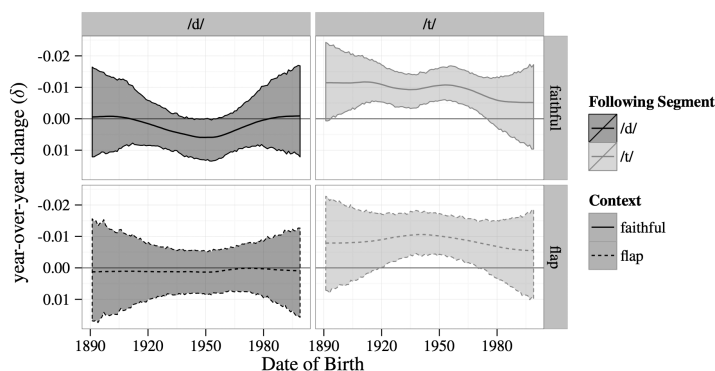


FIGURE 14. Model estimates and 95% credible intervals for the year-over-year differences (δ), that is, the rate of change. Dark gray lines correspond to /d/, light gray lines to /t/. Solid lines correspond to faithful (nonflapping) realizations of /t, d/, dashed lines to flapped realizations.

For about the first two-thirds of the time course of the change, the estimated year-over-year differences for /ay/ before /t/ (both faithful and flapped) hovers around -0.01 , although it does not appear to be reliably different from zero until 1920 for /ay/ preceding /t/-flaps. This is relatively identical to the estimated slope from the full model described in Table 1, which was -0.108 per decade, or -0.0108 per year. So far, it does not look as if there was some time period where preflap /ay/s were either both participating or both not participating in /ay/-raising. Rather, /ay/ preceding /d/-flaps appears to not be undergoing any change, and /ay/ before /t/-flaps appears to be undergoing the same change as /ay/ before faithful /t/. The fact that the credible interval for pre-/t/-flap /ay/ does not exclude zero for about twenty years after it first does for pre-faithful-/t/ is almost certainly because there is an order of magnitude more data for /ay/ before faithful /t/.

Figure 15 plots the actual expected F1 and 95% credible intervals for /ay/ across the four contexts. Modulo the wider credible intervals in the flapping facet, which again are almost certainly due to the sparser data for preflap /ay/, the profile of the change is largely identical between the two contexts: /ay/ raises before underlying /t/ and does not before underlying /d/, and flapping does not seem to perturb that change.

One thing not immediately clear from Fig. 15 is that there appears to be a weak main effect where /ay/ before flaps is slightly lower than before faithful /t, d/. This effect is

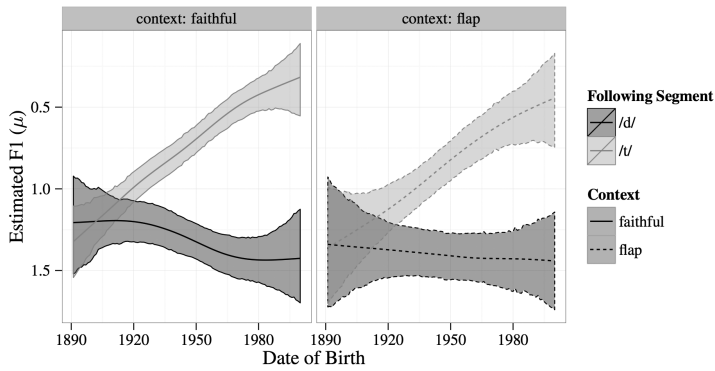


FIGURE 15. Model estimates and 95% credible intervals for normalized /ay/ F1. Dark gray lines correspond to /d/, light gray lines to /t/. Solid lines correspond to faithful (nonflapping) realizations of /t, d/, dashed lines to flapped realizations.

clearer in Figure 16, which plots the same estimates from Fig. 15, but this time emphasizes the difference between faithful and flapping contexts. It is not immediately clear why /ay/ preceding flaps should be slightly lower than preceding faithful /t, d/, but two things should be noted. First, /ay/ before /d/-flaps and before /t/-flaps appear to be affected to a similar degree. Second, neither of the phonetic precursors considered above would predict an effect like this. If anything, the duration precursor would predict that /ay/ should be higher before flaps than before faithful realizations, and the peripheralization precursor would predict that /ay/ before /d/-flaps would be higher and /ay/ before /t/-flaps would be lower than before faithful realizations.

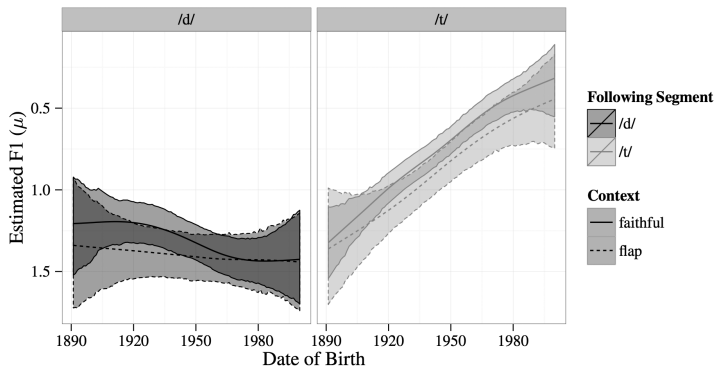


FIGURE 16. Model estimates and 95% credible intervals for normalized /ay/ F1. Dark gray lines correspond to /d/, light gray lines to /t/. Solid lines correspond to faithful (nonflapping) realizations of /t, d/, dashed lines to flapped realizations.

Something else that is not immediately clear from a visual inspection of Fig. 15 is whether the way /ay/ differentiates itself between pre-/t/ and pre-/d/ contexts is the same between faithful and flapping realizations. It could be the case that /ay/ before /t/-flaps does become different from /ay/ before /d/-flaps, but at a slower rate or at a later time than it does before faithful-/t/ and faithful-/d/. The height difference between pre-/t/ and pre-/d/ contexts was not an actual parameter of the model itself, but it is possible to generate estimated differences and 95% credible intervals for those differences from the

model parameters, and Figure 17 plots these estimates. It appears that the trend over time for /ay/ differentiation is nearly identical between flapping and faithful contexts. In fact, the 95% credible interval for the height difference begins to exclude zero at the same time for both contexts (approximately 1915).

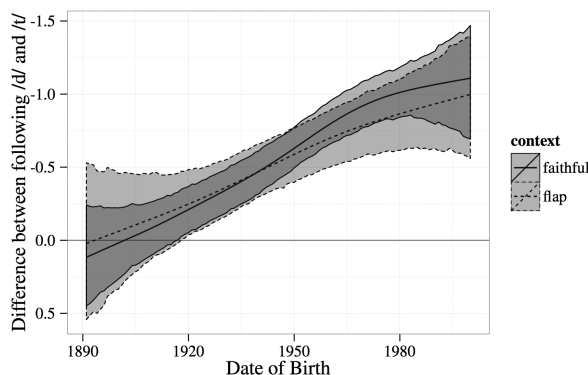


FIGURE 17. Estimated /ay/ height difference between pre-/t/ and pre-/d/ contexts. Solid lines correspond to faithful (nonflapping) realizations of /t, d/, dashed lines to flapped realizations.

It is worth reiterating at this point that the curves for each of the four contexts investigated here were estimated separately in the model. That is, the model did not assume that there should be any similarity between any of the diachronic curves plotted here. The fact that /ay/ height diverges identically in faithful and flapping contexts is a property of the data, not modeling assumptions.

NONLINEAR MODELING SUMMARY. The result in Fig. 17 is perhaps the most crucial one in this section. Its takeaway point is two-fold. First, as soon as there was a detectable difference in height for /ay/ in pre-faithful-/t/ position and pre-faithful-/d/ position, there was also a detectable difference of the same magnitude in pre-/t/-flap and pre-/d/-flap contexts. Second, the overall way in which /ay/ became different in height across the twentieth century before faithful-/t/ and faithful-/d/ appears to be the same before /t/-flaps and /d/-flaps.

4.4. ANALOGY INVESTIGATION. The primary thesis of this article is that prevoiceless /ay/-raising has always been conditioned by the phonological properties of its context, not the phonetic properties. However, there is one confound to the results from §4.3 that may call into question whether the effect demonstrated there was truly phonological. Almost all of words in which /ay/ appears before /t/-flaps are morphologically complex (e.g. *fighting*, *united*, *writing*). For very few roots (thirty-six tokens in total) does /ay/ appear exclusively before /t/-flaps, and they are forms of *title*, *vitamin*, and the suffix *-itis*. It could be that /ay/-raising began in the phonetically predicted context (before faithful /t/), and then the vowel quality analogized to derived and inflected forms of the root without ever making reference to other phonological properties of the root. Such a process does not seem very likely in view of the results from §4.3, especially looking at Fig. 17. The analogy would have had to be nearly instantaneous for all roots involved. Moreover, while this analogy would be very different from phonology as it is traditionally understood, it is still quite a few steps removed from the continuous properties of speech upon which the hypocorrection model is based.

However, in an effort to appropriately address this open question, I coded every word root in the flapping data for how frequently it occurs in flapping and faithful contexts

according to the word-frequency norms from SUBTLEX_{US}. Table 10 illustrates what this looked like for the root *unite*. For each individual word that contained the root *unite*, its frequency per one million words was collected, and it was coded for whether the /t/ would be flapped. Then, the frequencies for each context were summed, and a ratio of flapping to faithful realizations was calculated (see Table 11). For the root *unite*, it appeared in flapping contexts about twelve times more often than in faithful contexts.

ROOT	WORD	FREQ	CONTEXT
unite	unite	3.02	faithful
unite	reunite	0.71	faithful
unite	unites	0.53	faithful
unite	reunites	0.04	faithful
unite	united	50.27	flap
unite	reunited	1.78	flap
unite	uniting	0.29	flap
unite	reuniting	0.27	flap

TABLE 10. SUBTLEX_{US} frequency norms for the root *unite*.

ROOT	FAITHFUL	FLAP	FLAP : FAITHFUL
unite	4.3	52.61	12.23

TABLE 11. Summed frequency norms for the root *unite*, and the ratio of flapping frequency to faithful frequency.

The hypothesis being pursued here is that the more frequently a root appears with /ay/ in a faithful context, where the raising change is phonetically natural, compared to a flapping context, the more likely the vowel quality is to analogize to other realizations of the root. Of course this is a relatively simplistic approach to quantifying the likelihood of analogy, but if analogy is playing a powerful enough role in producing the appearance of a phonologically conditioned phonetic change, then even an imperfect measure ought to demonstrate this effect.

As a first pass at the question, Figure 18 plots F1 means for /ay/ in flapping contexts. The data was split into two categories: roots that occur more often in flapping contexts, and roots that occur more often in faithful contexts. The impression from Fig. 18 is that if there is an effect of the flapping-to-faithful ratio, it is a weak one.

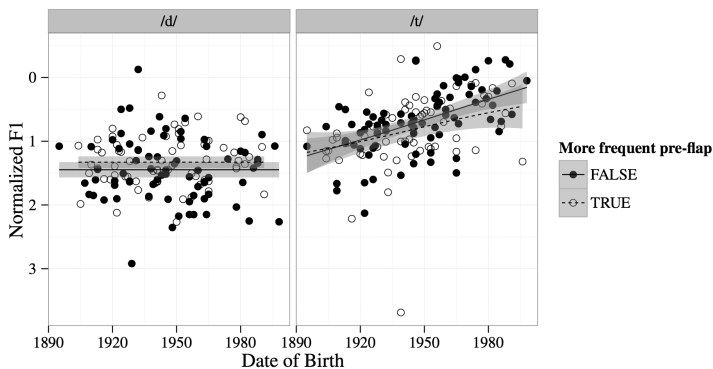


FIGURE 18. Estimated F1 of /ay/ in flapping contexts, divided into roots that appear more often in flapping contexts and those that appear more often in faithful contexts. The smoothing lines are penalized cubic regression splines.

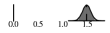


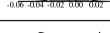




PARAMETER	ESTIMATE	95% CI	BOOTSTRAP
Intercept*	1.487	[1.322, 1.65]	
Decade	0.005	[−0.038, 0.047]	
log ₂ flap ratio	−0.009	[−0.069, −0.049]	
Decade × Ratio	−0.007	[−0.027, 0.013]	
[−voice]*	−0.793	[−0.999, −0.592]	
Decade × [−voice]*	−0.107	[−0.160, −0.054]	
Ratio × [−voice]	0.023	[−0.047, 0.096]	
Decade × Ratio × [−voice]	0.015	[−0.009, 0.038]	

TABLE 12. Parameter estimates and derived values from the mixed-effects model $\text{NormalizedF1} \sim \text{Decade} \times \text{following voicing} \times \log_2\text{Ratio} + (\text{Decade}|\text{Word}) + (\text{following voicing}|\text{Speaker})$. Decade is the speakers’ date of birth, centered at 1950 and divided by 10. $\log_2\text{ratio}$ is $\log_2(\text{flap}/\text{faithful})$, based on the frequencies described in §4.4. The 95% confidence intervals are based on 10,000 semiparametric bootstrap replicates fitted by bootMer from lme4 v1.1-7. The density distributions of the bootstrapped parameters are provided in the final column.

The ratio of flapping-to-faithful frequency is a continuous factor, so it was entered into a linear mixed-effects model using a \log_2 transform.⁵ Table 12 displays the fixed-effects estimates from the model, along with 95% confidence intervals based on 10,000 semiparametric bootstrap replicates obtained using bootMer. The only parameters where the confidence interval excludes zero are the intercept, the main effect of a following /t/, and the interaction of /t/ with date of birth. The confidence interval for the three-way interaction of $\text{Decade} \times \text{Ratio} \times [-\text{voice}]$ does not exclude zero, but just barely. Assuming, briefly, that the effect is actually nonzero, the size of the effect can be visualized by calculating the fitted values from each of the bootstrap replicates and plotting from the 2.5th percentile to the 97.5th percentile, illustrating a 95% range of the fitted values. The result is Figure 19, which is difficult to interpret because the effect size is so small.

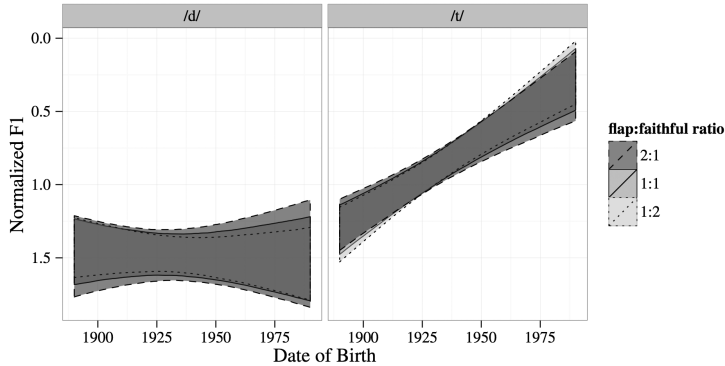


FIGURE 19. 95% percentiles of the fitted values from 10,000 bootstrap replicates.

A model-comparison route to evaluating the effect of the flapping : faithful ratio suggests that there is not even a main effect. Table 13 displays the results of likelihood ratio tests, as well as the AIC and BIC for models that differ only in the way the ratio was

⁵ Using the \log_2 transform means that a flap : faithful ratio of 2 : 1 has a value of 1, a 1 : 1 ratio has a value of 0, and a 1 : 2 ratio has a value of −1.

added to the model. None of the likelihood ratio tests are significant, and the model with the smallest AIC and BIC does not include the ratio as a predictor.

	df	AIC	BIC	logLik	DEVIANCE	χ^2	χ^2 df	p
no ratio	11	660.161	705.628	-319.081	638.161			
+ratio	12	662.130	711.731	-319.065	638.130	0.031	1	0.859
voicing \times ratio	13	664.124	717.731	-319.062	638.124	0.006	1	0.938
decade \times voicing \times ratio	15	666.260	728.261	-318.130	636.260	1.864	2	0.394

TABLE 13. Comparison of models that differ in terms of how the ratio of flaps : faithful was included.

While the ratio of the frequency with which a root appeared in flapping contexts and its frequency in faithful contexts may not be the most sophisticated operationalization for analogy, any more sophisticated approach will face the challenge of successfully analogizing the vowel quality for /ay/-raising while simultaneously failing to analogize the vowel quality for /ey/-raising, which is another phonetic change that occurred in Philadelphia in the twentieth century. Following consonants conditioned /ey/-raising, but this conditioning applied completely transparently. Figure 20a is an illustrative example, plotting the mean F1 for just the lexical items *day* and *days*. *Days* undergoes a phonetic change that is just slightly smaller in magnitude than prevoiceless /ay/-raising, and no analogy forces *day* to raise. For the sake of comparison, Figure 20b plots a similar illustrative plot for the lexical items *fight* and *fighting*. Both of these lexical items appear to undergo an identical raising change.

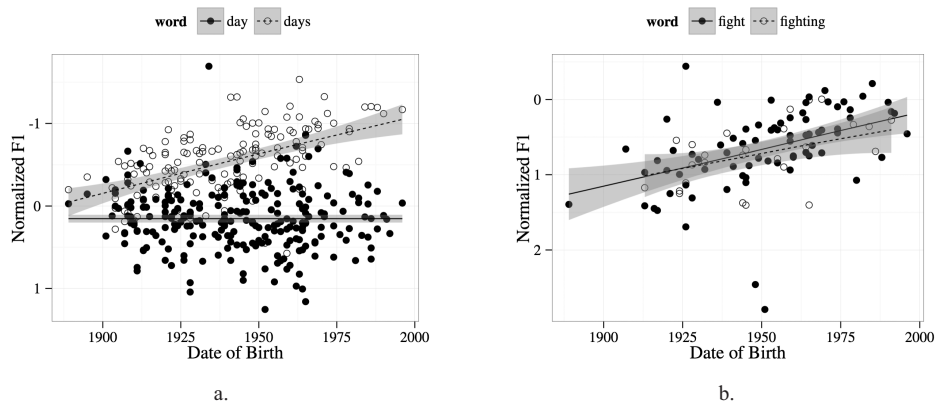


FIGURE 20. Mean F1 over date of birth for different lexical items. The smoothing lines are penalized cubic regression splines.

5. DISCUSSION. Most of the analysis in this article has, so far, been devoted to being certain about what did not happen to /ay/. Prevoiceless raising did not first begin in the contexts with the strongest phonetic precursors, then subsequently generalize or analogize along phonological or lexical dimensions. In different terms, the evidence suggests that the set of environments where this change was initiated were defined on phonological grounds, rather than in terms of the phonetic properties of those environments.

The appropriate next step forward when faced with this result depends greatly on one's theoretical commitments. If our commitment to the phonetic precursors model of phonetic change extended beyond apparent counterevidence, then the next appropriate step would be to search for new phonetic precursors that could accurately predict how this change was circumscribed. This route could prove to be long and fruitful, as the set of possible precursors is large and possibly nonfinite. However, the same argument

could be levied against the set of possible phonological explanations for phonetic changes. This underlines a central problem in comparing phonetic and phonological theories for how this change occurred, as most explanations grounded in either categorical phonology or continuous phonetics will be post-hoc and highly flexible. A deductive approach to settling the question is therefore simply not open to us on the basis of current theory since the premises are not fixed. However, just because there may be infinite explanations on phonetic and phonological grounds does not mean that all explanations are equally probable. If prevoiceless shortening and offglide peripheralization are taken to be the most likely phonetic precursors simply because they have been proposed in the literature, then the results presented here are highly unlikely on the basis of the most likely phonetic predictions. By contrast, these results are exactly what would be expected if /ay/-raising has always been conditioned by the underlying phonological status of the following segment.

So what did happen to /ay/ in Philadelphia? These results support part of a larger argument I would like to make that in order for two contextual variants of a speech sound to diverge in their phonetics over time, they must, all else being equal, be treated as being qualitatively different categories by speakers from the moment they begin to diverge. That is, a categorical split of /ay/ into two new allophones or phonemes is not the reanalysis of a longer-term phonetic change. Rather, the longer-term phonetic change is possible only because /ay/ split into two new allophones or phonemes either previous to or concurrent with the onset of the phonetic change. The split allowed for their phonetic targets to be learned separately and to change independently.

I propose that very early in the change, there were two categorically distinct, but phonetically similar, variants of /ay/, distributed according to the voicing specification of the following segment, and that one of them underwent a phonetically gradual change in height, and the other remained low. These allophones differed phonetically in terms of their offglides and duration before faithful /t/ and /d/, but when those phonetic differences were neutralized in the flapping context, it was still only the prevoiceless one that underwent the change. This is a more extreme version of the BIG BANG theory of sound change put forward by Janda and Joseph (2003). They propose that purely phonetic factors guide sound changes very briefly, and are eventually overridden by phonological conditioning. There is, in fact, no detectable period where the pattern of /ay/-raising aligned with what would be predicted on purely phonetic grounds. The conclusion I draw is that the period of purely phonetic conditioning either was too brief to be identified or was nonexistent. If the situation is the former, then that means there is a greater challenge than perhaps has been appreciated in identifying phonologization *in vivo*. If the situation is the latter, then the question arises as to how these two categorically different variants came to exist.

Under my proposal, there must have been a categorical difference between prevoiced and prevoiceless /ay/ at the onset of the change, but the nature of that difference is, unfortunately, not specified by my model. We cannot differentiate between proposals that place the distinction in the underlying representation (Mielke et al. 2003) and those that generate it in the phonological grammar (Idsardi 2006) or those that might mix the two (Pater 2014). However, Bermúdez-Otero (2013) makes a compelling argument that a categorical distinction between prevoiced and prevoiceless /ay/ is not necessarily a new development. Rather, he argues that a long-standing categorical process of prefortis clipping is responsible for producing two allophones of /ay/. As was already demonstrated, the selection of contexts to undergo /ay/-raising is not proportional to phonetic duration, but prefortis clipping is construed here as a categorical, phonological process, even if its primary phonetic consequence is a shorter vowel duration. Under Bermúdez-

Otero's account, clipped /ay/, [äy], was usually shorter than full /ay/, [äy]. But under certain circumstances (like when preceding flaps), this phonological distinction is phonetically neutralized to have the same, short, duration. The analysis in §4 strongly indicates that it was the phonological status of [äy] that selected it for raising, rather than its phonetic properties in any given context.

Whether phonetic /ay/-raising necessitates a reorganization in the phonological grammar of Philadelphians depends on how much or how little one wants to make their phonology dictate phonetics. For example, there may have only been one phonological process in the grammar across the entire twentieth century, which could be given as 6.

(6) CLIPPING: ay → äy/ __ [-voice]

The substantive change observed in this article would thus be a shift in the phonetic realization of [äy], which used to just be realized with a shorter duration, but then began to also exhibit a change in its height. Alternatively, a context-free process could have been introduced to the grammar that altered the phonological specification of height for [äy], which could be given as 7.

(7) CLIPPING: ay → äy/ __ [-voice]

RAISING: äy → [-low]

This change in the phonological specification of [äy] resulted in the observed gradual phonetic shift. An additional possibility is that these two phonological grammars, in addition to any others that might result in similar phonetic outcomes, were all covertly being used in a mixture, such as Mielke, Baker, and Archangeli (2016) have found for the distribution of bunched and retroflex /r/ (which are largely acoustically indistinguishable) in American English. Additional diagnostics to differentiate between these possibilities, like other phonological processes that interact with vowel height, are not forthcoming, so at the moment this discussion will have to be set aside.

Regardless of how different phonological categories are being represented or generated, my conclusion that they are not products of the phonetic change, but rather necessary ingredients for the change to happen, reopens most of the questions that hypocorrection was supposed to resolve. Gradual assimilation of the vowel's nucleus to a peripheralized glide, for example, would explain why the change happened at all. Without this explanation, the mystery of why [äy] and [äy] did not both just maintain their low nuclei forever remains. Perhaps a maximal dispersion theory could be turned to in order to salvage the situation. For example, Boersma and Hamann (2008) explicitly model maximal acoustic dispersion as being a product of cross-generational change. However, we are again left with the same, fundamentally difficult actuation problem: Why now? Why never before? Why here? Why not everywhere? Since a definitive answer to the actuation problem has not been provided in the nearly fifty years since it was first given a name, I can hopefully be forgiven for not settling the issue here.

As for the larger argument I want to make regarding the early influence of phonology on phonetic changes, a definitive case for it will require more examples of phonetic changes from more dialects investigated in similar depth as I have done here. I have focused exclusively on /ay/-raising in order to provide it the thorough treatment necessary to establish with relative certainty that for this change, phonological conditioning was present at its outset. Obviously generalizing too broadly from one specific case should be avoided, but I hope to have at least laid the groundwork for establishing a direction of inquiry and sufficiently problematized the widely held conventional wisdom regarding changes of this sort.

6. CONCLUSION. The hypocorrection model of conditioned phonetic change relies crucially on the presence of phonetic precursors that drive the change. In the case of

prevoiceless /ay/-raising, I established how the two phonetic precursors that have been proposed for it (prevoiceless shortening and offglide peripheralization) predict /ay/-raising ought to interact with /t, d/-flapping. I found that in twentieth-century Philadelphia, neither set of predictions is borne out. Rather, it appears that /ay/-raising has always been conditioned by the phonological voicing of the following segment, not the phonetic properties of the context. I argued that this calls into question the hypocorrective model of phonetic change as a universal explanation and that the possibility of early involvement of phonology ought to be explored in more sound changes.

APPENDIX: NONLINEAR MODEL DEFINITION

The difference in F1 for any given year from the year before will be called δ_j , where j is an index for the date of birth, assigned the value 1 for the first observable date of birth. This $\delta_{[j]}$ value will be estimated for all four contexts (/t, d/ \times [faithful, flapped]), so each context will be assigned an index from 1 to 4 called k , and the year-over-year change for a given year for a given context will be called $\delta_{[j,k]}$.

$$\delta_{[j,k]} \begin{cases} = 0 & \text{if } j = 1 \\ \sim \mathcal{N}(0, 100) & \text{if } j = 2 \\ \sim \mathcal{N}(\delta_{[j-1,k]}, \sigma_\delta) & \text{if } j > 2 \end{cases}$$

For every $\delta_{[j,k]}$ for $j > 2$, these are treated as being drawn from a normal distribution centered around the previous year's $\delta_{[j,k]}$. σ_δ is sampled from a uniform prior between 0 and 100, as are all other free scale parameters in the model. The first observable date of birth, $\delta_{[1,k]}$, has been fixed to be 0. This was done to allow for the identifiability of an intercept and contextual effects. Finally, $\delta_{[2,k]}$ has been treated specially, being drawn from a normal distribution with a standard deviation of 100. Since $\delta_{[2,k]}$ is the first nonzero $\delta_{[j,k]}$ value to be estimated, it might be substantially different from 0, but the differences between every subsequent $\delta_{[j,k]}$ might be much smaller. If the same prior distribution for $\delta_{[2,k]}$ was used for all of the other $\delta_{[j,k]}$, this would either have a detrimental effect on estimating the smoothing parameter σ_δ , or $\delta_{[2,k]}$ would be estimated to be closer to 0 than it actually is. For this reason, $\delta_{[2,k]}$ was given a less potentially restrictive prior than the rest of $\delta_{[j,k]}$.

The expected normalized F1 for a particular date of birth will be called $\mu_{[j]}$, and since $\mu_{[j]}$ is being estimated for four contexts, $\mu_{[j]}$ will also be indexed by context, using k again.

$$\mu_{[j,k]} = \beta_0 + \beta_{\text{context}[k]} + \sum_i^j \delta_{[i,k]}$$

$$\beta_0 \sim \mathcal{N}(0, 100)$$

$$\beta_{\text{context}[k]} \begin{cases} = 0 & \text{if } k = 1 \\ \sim \mathcal{N}(0, 100) & \text{if } k > 1 \end{cases}$$

For each speaker (s), a random intercept will be estimated for each context (k), drawn from a normal distribution with a standard deviation σ_s . The same goes for each street (r). Since context is a between-words factor in this model, simply a random intercept effect for each word is estimated.

$$\begin{aligned} \text{speaker.random}_{[s,k]} &\sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma_s) \\ \text{speaker.random}_{[r,k]} &\sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma_r) \\ \text{word.random}_{[i]} &\sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma_i) \end{aligned}$$

Finally, the observed normalized F1 of each token is understood to be the sum of the expected value for the speaker's date of birth, plus the random effects of speaker, street, and word, an effect of duration of the token, plus some random error. Both duration and random error, ϵ , are drawn from normal distributions. σ represents the residual deviation.

$$\begin{aligned} Y_{[i]} = & \mu_{[\text{speaker.dob}[i], \text{context}[i]]} + \\ & (\beta_{\text{duration}} \times \text{duration}[i]) + \\ & \text{speaker.random}_{[\text{speaker}[i], \text{context}[i]]} + \\ & \text{street.random}_{[\text{street}[i], \text{context}[i]]} + \\ & \text{word.random}_{[\text{word}[i]]} + \epsilon_{[i]} \\ \beta_{\text{duration}} &\sim \mathcal{N}(0, 100) \\ \epsilon &\sim \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma) \end{aligned}$$

The duration data passed to the model is log-transformed and centered at the median. This should have the effect of largely factoring out effects strictly due to phonetic duration, and means that the curves represent the estimates for /ay/s of median duration.

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